

14 Dec 1977

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Outline for Presidential Briefing Paper

The Tripoli Conference Participants and Their Ability to Affect Middle East Negotiations

The Tripoli conference called by so-called rejectionists to rally opposition to Sadat's peace initiatives.

A discussion of the participants; unwillingness of moderate Arabs to attend, with the exception of Asad and Arafat. Why Syria and PLO were at Tripoli.

The rejectionists: who are they? what do they reject.

The outcome of the Tripoli meeting.

The failure of the rejectionists to carry the day.

Asad and Arafat apparently able to dominate the proceedings and moderate the communique.

Iraq's walkout.

Our assessment of the rejectionists' capacity to play a significant role in the future.

Strengths and weaknesses of the Palestinian rejectionists.

Strengths and weaknesses of the rejectionist Arab states.

Influence of the Soviet Union on the rejectionists.

Our conclusion that rejectionists' influence on essential aspects of Middle East negotiations will be minimal unless Syria joins with them. Our current assessment that President Asad's options are open, but that he will be loath to abandon his willingness to negotiate a comprehensive settlement in a Geneva-like setting.

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The Arab Rejectionists

1030, 14 December

1. Definition: who and what is rejected; the origin of the term.
2. Who are the Rejectionists: which Palestinians and which Arab states.
3. The goals of the Rejectionists: shared and conflicting.
4. How the Rejectionists have sought to achieve their goals: political action, terrorism, war.
5. An assessment of their prospects for success, especially in light of Sadat's initiatives, the Tripoli meeting, and the Cairo conference.
6. Relations of Rejectionists with other key actors: Arafat and the PLO, Sadat, Syria, the Saudis, the West Bankers, Soviets, the US.



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Rejection Front

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Independent radical. 500 to 1,000 militia. Factions led by George Habbash and Wadi Haddad.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)	Radical, close to Syria. 100 to 200 militia. Led by Ahmad Jabril.
Front for the Liberation of Palestine (FLP)	Radical, close to Iraq. Recent offshoot of PFLP-GC. 100 to 200 militia. Led by Muhammad Abbas.
Arab Liberation Front (ALF)	Controlled by Iraq. Radical. 250 militia (plus 500 Iraqi militiamen with ALF in Lebanon). Led by Abd al-Rahim Ahmad.
Popular Struggle Front (PSF)	Controlled by Iraq. Radical. Less than 200 militia. Led by Samir Ghushi.
Black June	Controlled by Iraq. Radical. Less than 200 militia. Led by Sabri al-Banna.

Rejectionist States

Libya
Iraq
South Yemen
Algeria

"Pan-Arab front for resistance and confrontation"; a communique calling for the establishment of a resistance front was issued at the recent Tripoli conference. The communique was signed by the PLO, Syria, Libya, South Yemen, and Algeria. Iraq withdrew and did not sign, arguing that UN Resolutions 242 and 338 should have been explicitly rejected.

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